space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

And the young warriors, the young warriors who had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantac, oc ceppa momalacachoa, in cujlauj, calmocuepa.

Auh in necaoalo, ie tlaquauhioca, ie netetrequipan: yn iuh mixtlauilia axcan ayo ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie ixquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet vetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlikotiuj, qujetlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenacoque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, quinnechicoa, quintecpichoa, quinololoa, quincencujxtia, quicentecpichoa, vel quinixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca motetujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, quimonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequintin quincaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn otetecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloa, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatlachcaoan, in cioatetacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in maixtililonj, çan ichtaca in quinnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, ayo ichan in quichietiuh, anoço canapa in quinaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliooalquiça, çan moiocalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca itoca, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujnotzcocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixquich ytlaquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujutequj, ocoquaxoltica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, quiquatlechichinoa, tlitlecaloa, huaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelquihijocaoaltique, yca calmaiauj:

They said unto him:
"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquiaucan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,
Xiuuh nocne ayo toquichtli, ayc tlaiacauh, quen timixmocujtlauja: çaçocan techpoxmaqujzuh in tiiaoxca, maça toquich miquizcâ:

yoan in tlaolli qujlhujoia, vel oc nijec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoca-tiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tlemtiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcuanoc.

Auh in cioatl çan qujcotoca, in cioateriachcauh: aoquic no tenâ cujcoianoc, aoquic no tenaoac, ic quicennaoatia, quicennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motecmachia, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoaoc.

Auh in iehoatl yn otlatacujtiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic quimocioaoatia, quijauacujlia.

Auh yn iuhqui aci in iquac ie uel illujtl, yn motenoua vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itêco contic, auh yn iuquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, concapetlatl: yn icouqui chalchiujtl miecpanoli, teucujtlacoualli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiauipil yoan yxochiacae yhiacac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoâ yn ichicaoac chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaqui, ic quimachiltia yn jnjquin, in miquin mantia:

in comillujtl conpouhtia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vacan in tacicocacan, tacito: yoan itocaican necoquiauacan: yujc ecan vacan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic motenoa atenchicalcan, ca vacan, oalchalaoia yn atl, yoan no vacan oalpopolinjoia yn

796[x]
684
836

796[x]
[302]
301

[292
293]

796[x]

796[x]
805

7. Standing the sand was evidently a ceremony literally executed, and logical in view of the meanings of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The three places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. Again is probably an assimilation of *cuapan*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in these times they covered themselves with nothing else. All then danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjoxio, inppíchica yn oquin ioxalli xelini, yn oncquiza [535]
ioxalmopantla.

auh njman nioc tle quimoloconia, in inppích ic [592]
netotilo, çanyio in nemoloco chalcaixtl, haçan nel
ixhuqui petlaxhtinenca,

yn oquiz cuicatl, njman cecenmanoc, niuntla yui,
mantla yui, in centlaxilacalti, moquixivi vmpa dezchi
in jacochin, injn otlpuchcalli.

auh in ie vel oquichtin in ie quiximati tlaltícpaioti, [836]
vmpa onococchi in jeuecauh.

[p. 56 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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936

And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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[582]

When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his house.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Inic. 6. capitulo: vncan motenoa in tetlacxcuiltilitztli, in tetlamaceoaltilitztli, ynic quiotlacxcuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Inic nexcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanoantli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in ie vel oquichti, i ie chicaoque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj nan amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla itoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in at vetlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana tnoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenochicolo:

auh ica mavizti vetzi, intla çan macoualli, anoço ça can aquin, teixpan vivitoc, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quiicultia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujnecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, iocy in jnmozcan oncatca, aço cc vel ichã in ca, aço quexqujntin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja mozelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaoa inic quintlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemjpilli in mocuiltonoa,

yn oaxque in tachcauan in oquimacauhque njmã (miua) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihuatl conana in ichan quijpia.

auh in mozcalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ẽcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiolloclama in tlatoanj, quinaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacaocca, tlatlacochcaica, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizá: probably refers to manos. Sahag, in *Bloque Español*, p. 345, translates the Nahuatl as *con pajuato*—"one filled with filth."
2. Sahag, *op. cit.*, p. 346, n. 1, says *el garrotazo usual garrotazo mayor*: "Paradó con garrotazo usual, garrotazo mayor—finalmente, *I* murmuró."
3. Compare references in the *Real Palacio MS* suggests that this should read *antiguos*.
4. See Chapter V, nos. 3, 4.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. ¶ at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *magney* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapiztiuh, in canj yn evitztlahuia, yn oacito vmpa oallapiztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iocalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iocalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl mecoaia tlatlaubtiaia, yn aqujn tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iocalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaca, atlã ômaltiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iocalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iocalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa nonneçaoalhujlequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. oenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Ataquáloa, vel. *ayuno de pan cenil patuje, quelde comer*" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 488), all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 376): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviesse Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y gananciosa, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico, y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose. I suppose that such women were punished, not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forcoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 488) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Zurita* (p. 198, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, ora fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."